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VISCOUNT GREY'S recent utterance before the Foreign Press Association is one of the most significant made by any responsible cabinet officer since the war began. It constitutes the first explicit public endorsement by a member of the French or English government of the proposed method of international reorganization known as the "League to Enforce Peace"; and this particular endorsement is particularly encouraging because the effective force behind such a League would have to consist of sea and commercial power, and because the best guaranty it could offer for general security would be an acceptable system of maritime law. Anybody who doubts these assertions would do well to read carefully the article on the "Freedom of the Seas" by H. N. Brailsford printed elsewhere in this issue. The knowledge, consequently, that the English Foreign Secretary approves the plan is of decisive importance, and should persuade its American advocates to continue and to increase their work of popularizing its underlying ideas. They can now proceed, encouraged by the assurance of support by the man whose approval is most helpful and most necessary. They have still a vast amount of work to do in arousing American popular sentiment in its favor, but they have made enormous progress during the past year, chiefly as a consequence of President Wilson's assistance. If they do as much again during the coming year they will soon be able to count on a substantial popular understanding and support for an international security league.

IN the hyphenate issue the important question is not what Mr. Hughes has done, but what he intends to do. Every time the issue arises, Mr. Hughes declares for an indiscriminate and forcible upholding of American rights against any Power whatsoever. The only considerable American rights now being violated are those involved by the blockade and the British economic war policies. In behalf of these rights Mr. Wilson has protested, but he has not enforced his protest by military or economic action. To do so would contribute effectively to the possible victory of Germany in the war, and it certainly would make the Allied Powers regard the United States as their enemy. Yet this is what, from his public utterances, the pro-Germans expect of Mr. Hughes. If they are right we should all like to know it. The American people should arise as one heckler and ask, "Mr. Hughes, would you enforce your protest against the British blockade and blacklist by measures of military or commercial coercion?"

THE article in this issue by Mr. William C. Bullitt entitled "Worse or Better Germany" deserves the most careful attention. Mr. Bullitt has just returned from Europe after a long visit during which he had unusual opportunities to study the politics of the Central Empires. The outline which he presents is, as he himself says, a sharpened generalization from the facts. But for the practical purpose of American opinion those are the facts. The political struggle between Bethmann-Hollweg and von Tirpitz is probably the most portentous political campaign waged in the world to-day. The possible consequences are enor-

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mous, and as soon as our own election is out of the way, the chief business of American thought will be to comprehend it, and the chief business of American diplomacy to meet it. On the outcome depends the duration of the war, the nature of the peace, the future alignment of the nations, the internal reform of Germany, and more immediately the question of whether von Tirpitz can succeed in renewing an absolute submarine campaign which would draw us into the war. We beg our readers to study the article with care. It is the introduction to a discussion which will overshadow all other issues in the months to come.

ONE of the puzzles of the campaign has been the doubt as to the meaning and the probable effect of the Republican agitation for a revision of the tariff. Many of the Republican speakers have been placing the utmost emphasis upon the grave need of increasing the protection to American producers. Others, like Mr. Hughes, have been less emphatic, but they have indicated plainly their belief in a comprehensive alteration of the schedules. For the most part, however, no one could gather from these indications what kind of revision the Republicans were likely to propose. They have not advocated a return to the principle of the McKinley and Dingley bills, which was that of the prohibition of competitive imports. They are as silent as the grave about the extraordinary principle which was supposed to underlie the Payne-Aldrich bill, that of adjusting the amount of protection to the difference between the cost of production here and abroad. They have not submitted any new principle which distinguishes their variety of protection from the one embodied in the Underwood bill. They have not, at least in the East, launched a strong attack upon particular schedules of the existing tariff. What they have done was to hide their designs, such as have been formulated, behind a blanket endorsement of a tariff commission. Their legislation will be preceded by a preliminary investigation, and will in some way be determined by the results of the inquiry. Presumably any indication in advance of what changes are likely to be made would constitute an example of what has recently become for the Republicans the worst of all political sins—proclaiming a principle of legislation without first having made a complete investigation of the facts.

RECENTLY, however, Mr. Hughes has been promising to some of his audiences specific changes in the tariff schedules. Without waiting for the preliminary investigation which was to find reasons for the proposed increases in duties, he has declared himself in favor of higher rates on agricultural imports and has pledged his administration to insert them in the law. He could not have made a more dubious concession to the prevailing demand for the definition of his policy. He has erected a formidable obstacle in the way of any revision of the tariff which seeks to convert it into a flexible agency of the general economic welfare. If the Republicans are sincere in asserting that their future tariff legislation will be determined by a careful scientific inquiry into the whole effect of a particular schedule, they cannot afford to promise specific advances to any one class of producers, merely because these producers are now obliged to meet foreign competition. The scale of duties levied on farming products must be considered in relation to their effect on the general economic efficiency of the country. As a matter of fact, increased duties on food materials would threaten the future of American commerce with such very important states as Canada and Argentina, and would impose a serious burden on those manufacturing industries which, after the war, will have to meet foreign competition in the markets of the world. Underlying such promises is the old greedy, inflexible "home-market" idea, which if it is allowed to prevail would be certain to result in another McKinley or Payne-Aldrich tariff bill.

WHENEVER a presidential election is drawing near the supply of credulity among newspaper readers grows more and more abundant. If they stopped to remember and to think they would realize that as often as an election approaches less and less desire for accurate political news is visible in most newspapers. But only a minority stops to think. Most readers believe in October, because they want to believe, reports which they would have read more or less critically in July. All newspapers understand this phenomenon, and many are more than willing to take advantage of it. That is why readers who do not want the nearness of the election to destroy their minds would do well to read their papers, from now until November eighth, with a lot of salt. From El Paso there have lately come unsupported rumors of all sorts of Mexican anarchy, and from Atlantic City has come the report, absolutely without any attempt at verification, that Carranza had suspended all personal guaranties in Mexico. All despatches from Atlantic City and El Paso, especially those written by special correspondents, ought to be received with the greatest caution. And anybody who meekly takes headlines for truth, without comparing them with the news underneath, is likely to have his head stuffed full of partisan lies.

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THE syllabus of a lecture which Mr. Bernard Shaw will deliver on Friday, October 27th, has just arrived. These are the headings for a portion of it:

> The object of this particular lecture is to consider how far the sacrifice of liberty to the emergencies created by war is really necessary. How should a nation intelligent enough to recognize the vital importance of liberty, prepare for war? Wherein did our own preparation fail? Practical instances. The dread of Liberty. The impulse to throw every vestige of it overboard as men throw everything but their own bodies out of a falling balloon at sea. The indiscriminateness of panic. Throwing overboard not only the liberty of the Press, but the advertisements and all the news except war news. Suspension of morality, of criticism, of recognition of obvious facts. Manufacture of new and wildly romantic characters for statesmen, generals, and other official saviours of the nation. Fantastic rewriting of history. Penitential and ascetic epidemics. "Doing one's bit." Mania for giving money to anyone who will profess to use it patriotically without inquiry into character. Swindlers given the time of their lives. Clamour for the suppression of education, recreation, and locomotion. Impulse to abandon one's proper work and do something else badly. Unlimited license to liars and blackguards professing patriotism. Violence and pillage of neighbors subsidized and glorified by respectable citizens. Intimidation of self-possessed, candid, and courageous individuals. Public discussions of philosophy and biology by absurdly ignorant persons. Intellectual, religious, and scientific looting. General conviction that these proceedings are symptoms of an extraordinary elevation and purification of the national character.
>
> The reaction. Frantic vilification of all the idols. Demand for the cashiering of all the generals. Reminiscences of Admiral Byng. Abuse of the government. Prosecution and imprisonment of treasurers of war charities. Belittlement of our military successes. Insistence on our failures. Idealization of the efficiency of the enemy in contrast with our own imbecility. Popularity of the All is Lost school.
>
> The return of common sense.

The lecture was delivered in London. Rarely has the Atlantic Ocean interfered so drastically with the happiness of nations.

Hughes or Wilson?

NOW that the canvass is drawing to a close, the voters who during its earlier stages shirked or postponed a decisive choice are forced to take final stock of their position. The several candidates have been campaigning for two months; they have had an abundant opportunity to state the case for themselves and against their opponents. As a result of this exposure, are the considerations which in the beginning induced so many progressive voters to hesitate as weighty as they were on July 1st?

On that date THE NEW REPUBLIC shared this reluctance to reach a final decision. Notwithstanding the disheartening impression made by the behavior and the platform of the Republican national convention, notwithstanding the resentment felt by many progressives at the unscrupulous attempt to deliver the Progressive organization to the Republican candidates, it seemed only fair to pause and to allow a man of Mr. Hughes's record, ability and integrity to prove himself better than his party. The unsatisfactory aspects of the alternative offered by Mr. Wilson and the Democrats made hesitation the easier. The President's infirmities in action, the distrust inspired by his erratic and inflated phrase-making, his willingness to confuse the interest of the Democratic party with the public welfare, his scant sympathy with certain essential aspects of progressivism and his ignoring of progressives who were not Democrats until he needed their votes, the limitations of the social and administrative program outlined in the Democratic platform and in the President's speeches, and Mr. Wilson's own unqualified loyalty to the two-party system—these considerations tempted many liberals to look toward Mr. Hughes in the hope of getting something better. They craved a militant progressivism which would carry on the fight not only as against partisan opponents but against partisan associates. Mr. Hughes was that kind of progressive before his transfer to the bench. As Governor of New York he had preferred to jeopardize the success of his local party organization rather than yield his own clear personal convictions. If his liberalism had grown during his retirement from active politics, if he had added to his passion for good government an equally lively passion for social amelioration, and if his program had waxed sufficiently aggressive and well defined to call for a relentless war on the reactionary influences in his own party, there might have been a sufficient justification for preferring Mr. Hughes to Mr. Wilson.

As soon as Mr. Hughes began to talk these hopes speedily vanished. His words were not those of a thorough-going progressive for whom the great barrier to the increasing unity and momentum of American national life was the comparative impoverishment, alienation and dependence of the huge wage-earning class. His spirit was not that of a militant who would fight hard, as Mr. Roosevelt had once fought, to transform the Republican party into the servant of democratic, political and social aspirations. He declared himself to be a Republican first. His chosen method of redeeming Republicanism was that of

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ignoring as unimportant the quarrel of 1912 and of restoring a superficial, muddle-headed and demoralizing harmony. So far as his speeches expressed any explicit vision of public policy, it was that merely of the more efficient conduct of private and public business. He gave no indication of associating in his own mind the needed efficiency with a tenacious social purpose and with a shift in the distribution of economic and political power. He was unable to understand why the solemn declaration of his own virtuous intentions was not a sufficient answer to every demand for a sharper definition of his own attitude toward the deeper controversies of the time. After such an exhibition an uncompromising liberal could support Mr. Hughes only by forgetting that liberalism meant anything in particular.

There remained Mr. Wilson's disqualifications; but formidable as they had once seemed, they began to look negligible in the light of the issue which Mr. Hughes had allowed President Wilson to establish. The utterances of the Republican candidate, so far from redeeming the reactionary record of his party, had served as its partial confirmation. During the past year Mr. Wilson has been astutely striving to mould the Democracy into the national progressive party, and by contrast to attach to the Republicans in the popular mind the stigma of being reactionary. Mr. Hughes has permitted him to succeed. His success and the acquiescence of his opponent created a living issue between the parties. No matter how necessary it may be eventually to combat the illiberal elements in the Democracy, it is of the utmost immediate importance to support its frank progressivism rather than the furtive standpattism of the Republicans. During the past few weeks the hesitation of many former Progressives has disappeared. With few exceptions that wing of the party which was primarily interested in social amelioration has rallied to Mr. Wilson, and, what is equally significant, the example is being followed by many of the less doctrinaire and intellectually more independent Socialists. To their minds the result of the campaign has been the gradual emergence of a sharp and emphatic line-up between liberalism and reaction. The defeat of Mr. Wilson and the triumph of Mr. Hughes would be interpreted as a liberal setback and would increase the formidable obstacles to the success of the liberal cause.

THE NEW REPUBLIC has come to share this preference for Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party. The inevitable result of Mr. Hughes's attempt to ignore the quarrel of 1912 has been to reunite the Republican party, if at all, as a reactionary organ of government. He did not intend to accomplish any such result, but he builded worse than he knew, because he failed to understand the logic and spirit of the progressive movement. Progressivism cannot allow itself to be considered compliant and unimportant. It can be made to triumph only by the use of aggressive tactics. It would be the inevitable and dishonored victim of an attempt to establish peace either in the party or the nation merely by ignoring vital differences and extolling harmony. The certain result of Mr. Hughes's leadership was to force liberals to support a party which was definitely committed to a progressive program as opposed to a party whose program at best was not more than non-committal.

We trust our readers will not misinterpret the meaning of the decision to prefer the Democratic candidate. It is limited to the occasion and is qualified by the circumstances of the occasion. The Democracy under Mr. Wilson's leadership has as compared to the Republicans clearly earned the temporary support of progressives; but on the day after the election progressives who are not Democrats and have no illusions about the Democratic party are bound to resume their independence. The Democratic party is still far from being a trustworthy agent of constructive radicalism. Its loyalty to the cause is young, tremulous and not entirely above suspicion as to its motives. Before it can inspire continued confidence, it must afford new and more emphatic proofs of its willingness and ability to go on with the work of building up a better American nation. It has as yet done little to cure its most patent, most deeply rooted and most injurious fault—its indifference to sound administrative methods, its disposition to regard administration as an inferior and subordinate aspect of government. Before the Democrats can become sufficiently interested in giving the needed energy and efficiency to the administrative agencies which have been created by their own legislation, they will have to put their own house in order. Both of the two major parties have been fundamentally reflections of a decaying political and economic system. Neither can proceed very far with the reconstruction of the system without submitting itself to a drastic process of internal reformation.

THE NEW REPUBLIC has not been indiscriminately anti-Wilson and it will not be indiscriminately pro-Wilson. In the future as in the past our primary aim will be not to "support" candidates or parties or to give advice about voting, but to place a truthful and helpful interpretation on the political and social experience of the American nation. If Mr. Hughes is victorious, criticism of him will be determined a little by what he is saying now, but far more by what he says and does in the presidential chair. If Mr. Wilson is re-elected, criticism of him will equally be determined

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not by any legacy from a vote cast in his favor, but by his subsequent ability to keep on moving, to devise better methods of applying progressive principles to the facts of American life, and to act as an educational ferment on public opinion. We shall put to them the test to which we ourselves are ready to submit, the test inseparable from any tolerable existence, any honorable survival in a moving self-renewing world—the test of keeping abreast from day to day of the exigencies and opportunities of one's chosen work.

A Letter from Mr. Straight

WHEN THE NEW REPUBLIC was started there was an express understanding between Mr. Willard Straight, who arranged for the financing of the enterprise, and the board of editors, to the following effect. All decisions respecting the editorial conduct of the journal were to be made by the board of editors, subject only to the obligation of consulting Mr. Straight. This understanding has been loyally observed by both parties to the agreement. Mr. Straight has been consulted on all important questions, but the ultimate decision has rested with the board of editors. He has frequently disagreed with these decisions. He disagrees now with the preference which THE NEW REPUBLIC has gradually reached for the election of Mr. Wilson rather than the election of Mr. Hughes, and it is because he disagrees that we call attention expressly to this understanding. Mr. Straight has not been responsible in any respect for the editorial policy of THE NEW REPUBLIC, and he is not now. He undertook to procure a specific sum with which to finance the experiment, not because he wished to start a vehicle for the dissemination of his own personal opinions, but because he believed in the possible educational value of a weekly paper which sought to arouse American public opinion to the need of a well considered program of social and political reconstruction. Disagreeing frequently on questions of method, occasionally on matters of policy and on judgment of public men, Mr. Straight has always persisted in the belief on which THE NEW REPUBLIC was founded: that a journal of free and disinterested criticism must never be controlled by anyone but the editors themselves.

We submit the following statement of Mr. Straight's attitude to our readers:

The Editors of THE NEW REPUBLIC,

GENTLEMEN: In recent issues you have printed articles in which two of your editors stated the reasons why they personally proposed to support Mr. Wilson rather than Mr. Hughes. Although these were the expressions of individual opinion, the fact that your editors hold, and that you publish such views, inevitably commits THE NEW REPUBLIC as an advocate of Mr. Wilson's reëlection.

Personally, while recognizing the force of much that has been said, particularly in Mr. Croly's recent article on "The Two Parties in 1916," I have supported and propose to vote for Mr. Hughes and not for his opponent. I give Mr. Wilson full credit for his achievement in integrating the Democratic party. I agree that Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party have enacted certain admirable pieces of legislation. I believe, however, that this administration has lowered the prestige of the United States and in so doing has aggravated the problems which the American people will be called upon to face in connection with the world readjustment after the European war.

I believe that the President of the United States should be more than a party chief. He should be a national leader. I believe that the chief executive should so conduct his administration as to command respect both at home and abroad. I believe that he should guide the popular will by being able accurately to anticipate and to gauge conditions. A man who despite his preconceived theories is able to adjust his views to meet new situations is to be congratulated on his capacity for growth and may be safely entrusted with the responsibility of leadership. A man who ignores conditions which should have long been manifest and who denies their very existence until recognition thereof is forced upon him by popular clamor, is not in my judgment entitled to confidence. Mr. Hughes has been Governor of the state of New York. Mr. Wilson has been President of the United States. Mr. Hughes may be inexperienced in the broader field. Mr. Wilson has nearly four years of experience behind him. Personally, I prefer Mr. Hughes's record and his promise to Mr. Wilson's performance.

In a recent circular to your subscribers, you referred to the fact that THE NEW REPUBLIC has been financed for a certain period, during which you hope that it may be made self-supporting. Some of your readers, although perhaps not all, are aware that I have been responsible for the financial support which you require. THE NEW REPUBLIC was an experiment. We believed that there was both a place and need for a publication of this sort. You assumed the editorial and I the financial responsibility. During the two years just past your success has been as gratifying to me as it has been to you. Your success has given you an influence the importance of which I fully realize. You would have been unwilling to embark upon this experiment had your editorial policy been sub-

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ject to financial control. This fact should, I think, be known; and I believe it to be particularly important that it should be known at this time, when you, because of your convictions have elected to support Mr. Wilson and when I, because of my convictions and with such resources as I may have at my command, shall endeavor to assist in the election of Mr. Hughes. In the main, I believe we are in essential agreement, both as to our aspirations for THE NEW REPUBLIC and as to the general cause which it should serve. In this instance we differ as to the agencies which we believe to be best calculated to accomplish the results which we desire. I trust, therefore, that you will feel as I do, that our relationship should be made clear. We neither of us wish to be charged with attempting to carry water on both shoulders.

Very truly yours,

WILLARD STRAIGHT.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. O'Leary

THE theory on which Mr. O'Leary and the German-American Alliance are working is that this election must be a demonstration of the power of the hyphenate vote. They believe that if Mr. Wilson is beaten this year, and if his defeat can be ascribed to the organized strength of the anti-British minority, then the hyphenate will hold the balance of power in American politics. Mr. O'Leary and his associates are working to make the hyphenate vote decisive, and they can do this in one way only, by defeating Mr. Wilson. Now the leaders of this faction have probably not deceived themselves into believing that they could do more than defeat the President. They are shrewd enough to know that they could not elect a full-fledged pro-German. But if they can show their power to punish they will be satisfied. They will have introduced a form of terrorism into American national life, and as the agents of that terrorism they will wield enormous influence.

This is the plan of the leaders among the hyphenates. But in order to make good they have to find some way of controlling the votes of the altogether well intentioned and not very sophisticated mass of German-American citizens. This mass has been taught by the German language press to regard Mr. Wilson as a tool of Great Britain, to charge him with the death of relatives and friends killed by American munitions, to hate him for his refusal to tolerate unlimited submarine war, and to hold him utterly unneutral for not breaking the British blockade. It is this sentiment which the O'Learys have been working up these last two years into a political force.

The only way that power could be made effective this year is through attaching the hyphenate vote to the Republican candidate. This was made easier by the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt at Chicago, and the nomination of a man whose views on the war were unknown. The hyphenates gathered about Mr. Hughes the moment he was nominated. His declarations about Americanism did not worry them. The summer months followed, in which Mr. Hughes remained deeply silent on all the questions which might alienate the mass of the hyphenates. He was proving himself a better instrument of their purpose than the O'Learys had dared to hope.

But towards the end of August Mr. Roosevelt made a speech at Lewiston in which he took an extreme pro-Allies position and expressly denounced the hyphenate activity. Mr. Hughes telegraphed a blanket approval. Mr. Root made a speech, and he too took a decisive stand in favor of the Allies. It was rumored that Mr. Root would be in Mr. Hughes's cabinet. Now to the mass of the German-American voters this began to look like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Mr. O'Leary and his friends began to fear that they could not deliver the hyphenate vote to the Republican party.

At this precise moment, after Mr. Roosevelt's speech in Maine and while he was talking in Michigan about seizing German ships and other warlike acts, Mr. Hughes had his conference with Mr. O'Leary and his friends. We are altogether ready to believe that Mr. Hughes said nothing to them that he has not said in public. But what did he say in public? On Monday night October 9th, at Philadelphia, the day on which the American people read about the U-53, Mr. Hughes took a firm stand against the British government and denounced the blockade and the blacklist with great emphasis. That very night when all Americans were wondering whether the German government would break its pledge, Mr. Hughes endorsed the chief plank in the platform of the pro-Germans. He could not have selected a more sensational occasion to solidify the wavering hyphenate vote.

We do not believe that Mr. Hughes violated his convictions in order to win this vote. We know from personal conference with him that those were his convictions in July. He believed then, what he says now, that we should have insisted on all our rights, that we should have dealt impartially with the Allies and with Germany. The fact that such a policy would probably have meant the triumph of Germany and the doom of France and Belgium he regarded as irrelevant. He looked at neutrality as a question of legal rights, not as a matter of national policy. He thought about the

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interest of exporters, not about the interests of the nation in world politics. His angle of vision was that of a lawyer and not that of a statesman. But he knew at the same time that the great bulk of the American people wished to postpone some of their rights against the Allies in order to make sure that German aggression did not succeed. He knew that the sense of our people was to favor the Allies within the limits of technical neutrality. And so he said privately in July that he would prefer during the campaign not to commit himself explicitly on the views which he held.

What it was that forced him to change his mind we do not know. The Democratic National Committee points to the secret meeting with O'Leary which was followed by Mr. Hughes's adoption of the main principle of the pro-German propaganda. The indisputable fact is that the views which Mr. Hughes honestly believes are, on a crucial point, the views of that propaganda. The fact is that he did not express these views until after Mr. Roosevelt had frightened the pro-German vote. The fact is that Mr. Hughes has never unmistakably repudiated the activity of the German-American Alliance. The fact is that the hyphenate vote is organized for his election.

However you look at it the record is bad. On the most charitable view there is no escaping the conclusion that the campaign of Mr. Hughes is doing great injury to the American people. It has fed either deliberately or blindly the most sinister effort in this generation to disrupt our national life. If Mr. Hughes should win, the hyphenate vote would have proved its power, and its curse would be upon us for a long time to come.

The Ignorant Public

THE interests of the public are paramount. That is the insistent refrain of editorial comment on labor disputes. As a declaration of fundamental principle, it is incontrovertibly sound. The public—one hundred per cent of the population—must be fed, housed, clothed, transported. For this government exists. The paralysis of production or distribution, the interruption of the free flow of the necessaries of life, signalizes the paralysis of government itself.

But if the public is to make effective its claim to paramount consideration, it must be prepared to enter the field of industrial controversy, not on the sole ground of its own physical comfort, but as the authoritative arbiter of social justice and productive efficiency. All business is coming to be clothed with a "public interest" and is properly subject to public control; but it is unreasonable to expect business men to give an efficient account of their stewardship if, like the proverbial housemaid, they are to be subjected to capricious interference by a public devoid of a rational policy toward business. Neither is it reasonable to expect wage-workers to conduct themselves with punctilious regard for the public convenience so long as the public remains indifferent to the conditions under which they work and to such elementary questions as whether the rewards of labor are the wages of hunger, disease and squalor, or the wages of economic security and an opportunity to share the amenities of life.

Hitherto, of the three parties in interest, the public has been the most derelict in discharging its responsibility in the matter of industrial disputes. Every explosion of the smouldering industrial unrest finds the party of the third part unprepared, ignorant of the questions at issue, dazed, petulant, mystified. The coal miners go on strike. Immediately the public has anticipatory visions of itself huddled in improvised wrappings, goose-fleshed in the winter sun. Like the helpless bystander at a brawl, it cries hysterically to both sides to stop mussing things up. The instant the fracas is over, the public complacently returns to the warmth of its accustomed shelter. But why did the men strike? What wages had they been receiving? Under what conditions did they work? Had the owners been operating the mines with due regard to the public interest, or merely as means of personal aggrandizement? And what of the new agreement? Does it provide a decent standard of living for the workers and proper safeguards for the financial strength of the property? Is it a rational basis for peace and progressive adjustment, or merely a patched-up truce, which both sides will scheme to evade at the strategically expedient moment? Such questions the public neither asks nor seeks to answer, whether with respect to the miners, the textile workers, the garment makers or any other industrial group. With the passing of the immediate fear of inconvenience, the public goes into intellectual hibernation.

Clearly such an attitude is incompatible with the claim to paramount consideration; it is flaccid, sybaritic, irresponsible. Instead of commanding the respect due to competent authority, it breeds demoralization and contempt. And to-day, the public is totally unequipped with the knowledge essential to any effective assertion of its claim. Such instruments as we have created for the regularization of business—the Interstate Commerce Commission, the various state public service commissions and the like—have concentrated their attention upon questions of capitalization and rates. The human side of industry has had little or no

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systematic consideration. There has, to be sure, been a certain stirring of the public conscience in behalf of exploited women and children and the insurance of workers against industrial injuries. But these measures deal with the fringes of the industrial problem; they do not pretend to go to its core. Such facts as we have concerning the conditions of employment are principally wage statistics, and these are of the most general character. They are sufficient, however, to furnish an unequivocal answer to the harassed question as to the cause of "industrial unrest"; and they furnish, also, a clear index to the first step which the public must take if it is to become an authentic participant in the adjustment and prevention of industrial disputes.

Repeated investigations have established twelve hundred dollars as the minimum required for the decent support of the average family in our largest cities; one thousand in the cities of the second class—rents being chiefly accountable for the difference; and seven hundred and fifty dollars in small towns and villages, where living is simple and the kitchen garden is available to supplement the wage. Contrast with this the recent findings of the United States Public Health Service:

> Without taking into consideration the loss of working time for any cause, it has been found that during recent years in the principal industries of the United States between one-quarter and one-third of the male workers approximately eighteen years of age and over earned less than $10 a week, from two-thirds to three-fourths less than $15 a week, and only one-tenth earned more than $20 a week. . . . In the principal industries fully one-fourth of adult male workers who are heads of families earned less than $400; one-half less than $600; four-fifths less than $800. One in every ten or twelve workingmen's families had an annual income of less than $300.

What more is needed to explain industrial unrest? There should be no further mystery about it. Men living in a civilized community naturally want to live like civilized men. Underpaid, underfed, underhoused, they will inevitably reach up for a little more of the decencies of life, to say nothing of education and leisure, while the strength to struggle upward is in them. And is it not a reasonable inference that what causes unrest in general is at least a major cause of particular strikes?

Obviously, however, such general facts are inadequate as a basis for effective intervention and the just arbitration of individual disputes, and they are especially inadequate for a sustained policy of adjustment in advance of the crisis. To secure such a basis, the public will have to adopt toward industrial derangements the attitude which it has taken toward the control and prevention of disease. It will have to create public instrumentalities to make and keep current comprehensive industrial audits of every industry upon whose uninterrupted operation the public wellbeing depends. These audits will have to cover all matters of personnel—wages, hours, working conditions—as well as capital investment, managerial efficiency, and profit. To delay the investigation until after the crisis is unfair to both sides, and exposes the public to impotence and ridicule. Whatever one may think as to the wisdom of the recent federal legislation affecting the railroads, it is obvious that it was based upon considerations of expediency and abstract justice, rather than upon knowledge of the wages and working conditions of the millions of railroad workers. The recent traction muddle in New York City was quite as obviously due to the absence of similar information, so that here, too, the authorities were guided by legalistic and superficial considerations, while the inconvenienced public fearfully groped in the dark. The traction companies, like the cloak and suit manufacturers last summer, cavalierly disregarded the public's plea for arbitration, because the public approached the situation without any foundation in law or knowledge of the issues upon which to rest an authoritative demand for arbitration. A comprehensive audit of our railroads and of all industries entering into interstate commerce should be immediately undertaken by the national government, and a similar audit at the hands of the local authorities is imperative with respect to local public utilities. Until this work has been done, the public will continue to be as helpless in the presence of industrial disputes as the hen that hatched ducklings; and the two sides in controversy will continue to respect the convenience of the public to precisely the extent they deem expedient.

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Why I Shall Vote for Mr. Hughes

IN determining his course in regard to a national election in this country, a voter must sharply discriminate in the emphasis which is to be given to the various debits and credits on the respective sides. This year this necessity has become even more important than usual. Issues have arisen which are not only new but which differ vitally from old issues in their kind and comparative importance. I am making my own decision almost wholly on the basis of these new issues as I see them. A period demanding intense national efficiency is approaching and we are unprepared for it. We are unprepared for it not only in the condition of our military and naval forces, but in our methods of civil government, in our methods of business and industrial organization, and, more than anything else, in the spirit of trained duty and disciplined patriotism with which we are approaching that period. From now onward, instead of living in a state of happy-go-lucky isolation, everything that we do must be scrutinized in the light of the necessity of meeting the sternest kind of competition and rivalry from without.

The government which is to guide this country through a period of such searching test must be possessed of a spirit of dominating American nationalism. It must have a traditional consciousness of our ideals and our dignity as a nation and the high national purposes which at bottom have always animated this people. It must have the self-respect shining out in its every action which can only be based upon an intelligent consciousness of its own readiness and power. It must not only itself be able to recognize and approve American ideals, but be able to make others recognize and respect them also. Of slender use at such a time would be the development of a comfortable internal policy if we did not possess the thorough respect of the other members of the family of nations.

Such a work cannot be accomplished by any single individual. It must be the work of a great leader backed by a great party. The absence of the necessary faith, sincerity and courage in the leader at such a time, especially under our Constitution, which places the entire initiative in foreign affairs in the hands of the Executive, can misinterpret and bring to naught the most fervent and wide-spread patriotism in the party or the nation; and, on the other hand, the leader can at best permanently carry through only those efforts where he voices and represents the instincts of his party. No magician, by political alchemy, can produce the gold of a consistent national policy out of a party which throughout its existence has feared and distrusted the power and ability of the nation. To get a government which will as nearly as possible measure up to this standard of nationalism is, in my opinion, the issue which should control all others in this election.

I propose to support Mr. Hughes and the Republican ticket this fall because I believe that the past three years have demonstrated that the task which lies before us can only be accomplished through their agency. This year we do not have to make our decision upon the assertions and counter-assertions of a campaign. Recent events, not words, have, as it seems to me, made it abundantly clear first, that Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party cannot rise to this issue of nationalism; and second, that large and controlling elements of our people have grasped this as the paramount issue and have already grouped themselves behind the Republican party.

Mr. Root's speech at Carnegie Hall on October 5th pointed out so clearly that each of the signal failures of Mr. Wilson's administration was an instance of a failure in the true spirit of American nationality as to make further elucidation of that point well-nigh superfluous. The failure to make good our warning to Germany against destroying American lives on the high seas, the subordination of our duty towards American nationals in Mexico to a sentimental interest, however worthy, in the Mexican peon, the surrender of the great movement for national defense to the local influence of the militia, and the abdication of the powers of government at the threat of a labor union, were all due to a similar cause—a failure to grasp and embody in action a dominating national spirit and purpose.

My own criticism of Mr. Wilson rests with greatest assurance upon his relation to the cause of national defense; particularly in respect to the army. Military defense is only one phase—and not the highest—of the cause of national efficiency. But it is vital and foremost. The government which fails in that can gain small comfort from other success. In the War Department too, Mr. Wilson was not at the mercy of Josephus Daniels; instead, he had to assist him the courage and intelligent patriotism of Mr. Garrison. His sin was against light. I do not believe that any one could follow as I have Mr. Wilson's course in

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respect to national defense and retain faith in his convictions, or even sincerity in respect to that phase of American nationality.

The man who was quoted by the New York *Times* more than a month after the battle of the Marne as saying "with a laugh" that the discussion of adequate preparedness was "good mental exercise" and such talk had been going on ever since he was a boy; who told the country in his annual message in December, 1914, that there was no "need to discuss" the subject of national defense; that the country had been misinformed and that he "had not been negligent" of the matter, at a time when there was not enough ammunition in our coast defenses to last for forty-five minutes of firing by the guns of those defenses, and not enough field guns or ammunition to last even our miniature forces for a day of battle; the man who scoffed and sneered at all talk of national defense throughout that vital winter of 1914-1915 and allowed the 63rd Congress to finally adjourn without taking even the least of the precautionary steps recommended by his own Secretary of War; and the man who within a year thereafter was sensationally rushing through the country astonishing our naval experts by pleading for "incomparably the largest navy in the world" and for a larger army "without the loss of a day," has convinced me that he was lacking in the firm consistency upon which a great national policy must be founded. The man who later surrendered Lindley M. Garrison to James Hay; who abandoned the proposal of a citizens' army under national control (which he had himself formally adopted) in favor of the hodge-podge of inefficiency and "pork" masquerading under the name of a federalized militia, seems to me to show that his own grasp of the requirements of a policy of military defense was as weak as the traditional weakness of his party towards that subject.

If Mr. Garrison's proposal of December, 1914, to increase the regular army by 25,000 men with a thousand additional officers, had been pushed through by the President, there would have been no need in 1916 to mobilize the National Guard on the border. If Mr. Garrison's proposal of 1915 for a federal force of volunteers, later embodied in section 56 of the Senate Defense bill, had been saved by the President from Mr. Hay's animosity and enacted into law, there would be no need to-day of keeping on that border those patriotic men who are only there at distressing personal sacrifice, and an experiment in border patrol which has cost us between fifty and one hundred millions to date could be reduced to a fraction of such expense.

The War Department is the seat of other activities than preparation for war. For some years past in Santo Domingo it has been the agency for one of those noble experiments, like those in Cuba, in the Philippines, and in Porto Rico, which this country has been conducting in the guidance of backward peoples towards the goal of self-government. Until March 4th, 1913, into that experiment had entered no taint of partisan politics. Of that fact I can speak of my own knowledge. The experiment there was under the leadership of a Democratic receiver, appointed and maintained in office by Republican Presidents on a basis of merit alone, with the result that in four years a condition of debt repudiation and constant anarchy had been transformed into one of financial credit and comparative stability. When Mr. Wilson, in 1913, against the protest of the Dominican government, allowed Mr. Bryan to send into the receivership of that feeble republic his host of "deserving Democrats," he not only ruined the work that was on the road to accomplishment, but he showed that whatever his fine words he had no genuine conception of the national mission of this country towards backward peoples.

In my opinion evidences of such failure to protect the national safety of his country, or to adequately voice and represent its national purpose abroad, cannot be offset by proof of legislative accomplishments at home even if they were as substantial as claimed. Of small use is it to cherish the casket when the jewel has been lost. Many of these claimed accomplishments, however, have little more claim upon us as yet than labels of a worthy purpose. We do know that the marine legislation has totally driven the American flag from the Pacific Ocean. We know that the Federal Reserve Banking law was only saved from being a measure of dangerous inflation by the courage and eloquence of one Republican senator. Whether such legislation as the Rural Credits bill is a blessing or a curse, depends upon the skill and disinterested patriotism with which its details have been studied out and formulated. All we know now is that it is an act with a pleasant name passed hurriedly in a presidential year.

I believe that the people of this country are justified in judging Mr. Wilson not by these minor activities, but by his course upon a single great issue which I have attempted to describe. And the fact that during the past two years of national anxiety and crisis they have been steadily turning away from him and towards that party which throughout its existence has emphasized and stood for national development as distinguished from local issues, indicates to me that they intend to judge him by that issue and that alone. I believe that they are right.

The fact that ever since foreign policies became

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acute, and with special acceleration since the outbreak of the European War, the members of the Progressive party have been turning again to the Republican party, is not a symptom of political incompetence, as hostile critics have suggested, but a symptom of political sagacity. To attribute such a movement to a mere desire for return of power and patronage, is to slander the deep traditional instinct of the millions of voters who have been taking part in it. Instead, it indicates a recognition that the differences as to personalities, and even principles, which divided men in 1912 are less important than the overpowering issues which have since arisen.

In the pre-convention campaign, as well as in the convention itself, I supported another candidate than Mr. Hughes. But the strongest and most significant phenomenon that I have ever witnessed in a political convention was the development of the quiet strength for Mr. Hughes. When it nominated him the convention was not "playing safe"; it was yielding to the feeling of the Republican voters throughout the country who had been attracted by his dominating personality and the powerful impression which he had made upon the whole United States during the four years that he was Governor of New York. The same feeling had cropped up in 1912 and had been suppressed only by his own emphatic refusal to be a candidate against Mr. Taft, who had appointed him to office. Such proof of popular confidence persisting during a six years' retirement from political life is well-nigh unique in American history. It indicates an impressiveness of character which of itself should be an answer to silly suggestions that he is now pandering in his campaign to questions of expediency or to any sectional vote. Mr. Hughes has already lived the principles which guide his conduct in office. He has stated in general terms his views upon the issues which are now burning. On the one of these in respect to which feelings are hottest and as to which he has been most persistently misrepresented, he has not only stated in his speech of acceptance that American lives were not to be put upon the same footing as American property, but last week at Philadelphia he denounced the sinking of the Lusitania as a wanton murder of Americans. That having thus made his controlling principles of action clear he should not permit himself to be dragged into the answer of specific questions which could not arise except under the bad management of the present administration, and which may be wholly academic when he takes office, is a perfectly sensible and tenable position. The man who did not hesitate to antagonize the most powerful leaders of his party on the issue of party government reform, who forced through the Public Service laws against the hostile and powerful lobby influence at Albany, who risked his whole political future on the moral issue of the race track, deserves that his personal courage be not lightly put in issue. That he will prove our leader in the cause of national efficiency, he has my faith and I believe the faith of the great majority of the American people.

HENRY L. STIMSON.

The Hughes Campaign

WERE one to judge from the style of campaign undertaken by the Republican managers, one would conclude that there are no issues in the present campaign—unless the business of ousting Mr. Wilson from the Presidency be called an issue. I do not think I have an inordinate conception of the amount of sweet reasonableness to be expected in a political campaign, but taken at what appears on the surface—including much the larger portion of Mr. Hughes's speeches—the present campaign upon the Republican side is the silliest one I can recall. The brass band, torch-light style of campaign was robustly reasonable by comparison; it appealed at least to elemental instincts and long-standing prejudices.

But since the men who have planned this campaign are shrewd managers, there is doubtless something behind their selection of its manner. I imagine this something is belief that Mr. Wilson in conjunction with the course of events has offended an unusually large number of different groups, and that the surest road to success is to allow these resentments to defeat him. To be explicit, to discuss actual issues in anything like a concrete way, might bring to light the discords among these groups, and might lead some of them to use their minds, instead of their emotional soreness, as a basis for voting. Then, of course, there is the vast and unhealed division in the Republican party itself which makes a negative policy, to which each can attach any meaning he pleases, the safest procedure. Extreme pro-Germans, offended by the way Mr. Wilson has called Germany to account, and the extreme pro-Allies, even more offended because the country has retained a passable neutrality, disaffected Irish groups, professional anti-

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Catholics, Catholics angry because the administration supports in Mexico a party having an anti-clerical policy, Northerners to whom the sectional issue still appeals, aggressive militarists, and all in whom the long-continued war has aroused an uneasy desire to hit something or somebody if only that they may discharge their accumulated emotion, are trusted to elect Mr Hughes—not for his sake but in order to defeat Mr. Wilson. Delightfully enough, the mask for this contradictory medley is "undiluted Americanism." Complete the list of groups in any way that occurs to you, and then add the reactionary interests whose concern in Mr. Wilson's defeat is much more than sentimental, and you have, I fancy, a sketch of the plan upon which the Republican campaign is proceeding.

How formidable the method is likely to prove remains to be seen. Upon the cynical theory that most men are fools, especially in political matters, it offers a fair promise of success. But those who like to imagine that they use their ordinary commonsense in politics, and who have not been tied in the past to any one party, have found it repellent. I find myself, along with many others who have not been especially enthusiastic in the past about Mr. Wilson, warming up to him more and more every day. When one party has no policies but only campaign tactics, and the other party has behind it a record of accomplished positive legislation, it does not seem to me that the independent voter who votes by his judgment and not by his sore spots has a difficult choice to make.

All this is upon the theory that there is really no fundamental issue—that the campaign is simply a question of keeping in or turning out a certain administration. But while, as I have said, the situation so described is enough to determine my own vote, I do not think the statement is adequate to the situation. I believe there is a real issue. Briefly stated, it is as follows. Historically, aside from its alliance with the slave-owners, the Democratic party has been the party of the "masses." By sympathies and by constitution, it has been the party of the less fortunate, of the poorer, of the more ignorant. But its state-rights philosophy has rendered it impotent to carry its sympathies into action. It has been almost helpless in construction in the face of the industrial changes which have swept the isolated locality and the old-fashioned pioneer and agrarian individualism out of existence. Its only capital has been its tariff policy, which differs only in degree from the Republican, and an emotional belief in "equal rights" to which its traditional philosophy forbade giving practical effect. It may well be that Mr. Wilson remains a theoretical adherent of this policy. But in the concrete he has shown political sense. He has appreciated the moving forces of present industrial life and has not permitted the traditional philosophy to stand in the way of doing the things that need to be done. This may be an instance of the "temporizing" of which his enemies so bitterly accuse him. But I imagine that his actual success is the real root of their bitterness. A party which in effect is as nationalistic as the Republican, but which allies its nationalism with the interests of the masses and not of the privileged pecuniary classes, is what, in my judgment, this country most needs. The promise of it, under Wilson's leadership, constitutes the real issue—the real something at stake—in the present campaign.

Consequently the substantial record of progressive legislation achieved in the last few years is even more significant than the roll of the measures themselves—considerable as the latter is. For almost every measure stands in contradiction to the traditional Democratic philosophy, just as it stands in consonance with the social needs of the times. There is then something humorous in the cry, sponsored by Mr. Roosevelt, of "deeds, not words." No political leader has ever so deluged the American continent with words as has Mr. Roosevelt. He literally talked himself into the American heart. He knew what the average citizen wanted said and he said it with great emphasis, even when what the average citizen wanted was ambiguities of the "on this hand, and on the other hand" type. I do not ignore the fact that when Mr. Roosevelt began his propaganda, talking such as his was needed, and was indeed itself action without which the later constructive steps could hardly have been taken. But, I submit, there is a certain irony in the fact that the echoes of Mr. Roosevelt's vehement verbosity so fill to-day the ears of even many a progressive voter as to make him deaf to the roll of acts actually accomplished, so that missing the accustomed accompanying clamor he is imposed upon by the cry of "deeds, not words."

In view of the importance of the issue regarding the possibilities of the Democratic party, it seems unnecessary to pursue the interesting current conundrum: "What has happened to Mr. Hughes?" But it is not possible to discuss any political matter without some reference to personality. As one who voted twice for Mr. Hughes for governor, there are two or three things which I should like to say as having a bearing on this campaign: One is to recall a remark made during his second campaign in a group of men all of whom voted for him—a remark which won universal assent. "I could wish he had fought crime more, and vice less." In short, I believe that Mr.

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Hughes's old record as well as his present style of talk shows that his political sense is personal and moralistic rather than social and moral. In addition, he seems to belong to that group of men to whom the Republican party is not a means to an end, nor even merely an end, but an ideal. Our politics have suffered enough from the identification of partisan politics with piety, so that it is unwise to consecrate the further identification in the person of Mr. Hughes. His record again shows that his "independence" was personal—the independence of the non-conformist conscience. It was private, not coöperative. His formal legalism, seen (if his general phrases have any meaning at all) in his criticisms of President Wilson's attitude toward the British, and of the eight-hour law, is another thing which, I believe, will render his administration, if he is elected, a great disappointment to the more intelligent portion of his present supporters. I have avoided any reference to foreign policy for lack of space, for I think that Mr. Hughes almost exactly inverted the relative importance of things when he devoted say four-fifths of his speech of acceptance to criticism of Wilson's foreign policy and one-fifth to domestic matters. But I will conclude by saying that with respect to foreign matters it is infinitely more important to elect a man who has some consciousness of the situation to be faced by the world when the war ends, than it is to get back at him for his past deviations from the line of conduct which our own predilections prescribed, or than it is to elect a man whose first and last appreciation of international relations seems to be summed up in the lawyer's concept of "protecting the rights of every citizen." Mr. Wilson's recent shrewd remarks about the passing of the "legalistic age" of American politics hit Mr. Hughes's foreign as well as his domestic policies.

JOHN DEWEY.

Worse or Better Germany?

AMONG the habits of man's thinking machine none is more useful or more dangerous than its custom of hanging a label on a complex object and of referring, in all future thought, to the label instead of to the object itself. In the category of dangerous labels are the yellow stamp America has affixed to Japan, on which is written "Peril"; and the bloody red tag we have appended to Germany, on which is written "Hun."

To paint the Germany of 1916 in monochrome is to lie. Bloody red is a suitable color for von Tirpitz, von Reventlow and the Pan-Germans; but pale violet must be employed to portray truly the Bernstein, Haase, Liebnecht, Socialist minority. Between the extremes are 64,000,000 beings who hold opinions of every shade in the spectrum. To generalize at all about "the opinion of Germany," therefore, is to be inaccurate; but with reservations for men like Albert Ballin, who stand in some respects with the Germany of von Tirpitz, in others with the Germany of von Bethmann-Hollweg, one can say that the whole nation is divided into two bitterly contending camps: the camps of conservatism and liberalism, of worse and better Germany.

The supporters of the Chancellor and those of the ex-Admiral disagree on every question in regard to the making of war and the making of peace, on every question of internal and external politics. Behind the Chancellor stand Hindenburg, the Foreign Office, the Socialists, the Radicals of the Fortschrittliche Volkspartei, which represents largely tradesmen and shopkeepers, the Roman Catholic "Centrum," whose strength comes from Bavaria, Baden and the Rhine Provinces, the ship-owners, the bankers, and the Anglophiles or Russophobes, who cluster about Dr. Hans Delbrück and Dr. Paul Rohrbach. In the Reichstag this gives the Chancellor two hundred and forty-two supporters. But his strength springs not from his Reichstag majority, but from the favor of the Emperor, who since the beginning of the war has stood on the side of decency and commonsense. The section of Germany which looks to von Tirpitz for leadership is composed of the Conservative party, which represents the Junkers, the National Liberal party, which represents the "heavy industry" of the Rhine Valley, the officers of the navy, Falkenhayn and nearly all the officers of the army, and a great many of Germany's "intellectuals." In the Reichstag these parties control one hundred and one seats. Their hope is to win over the eighty-eight members of the "Centrum," and to capture the ear of the Kaiser.

The split between conservative and liberal Germany begins with their divergent views of the monarch and the Prussian state. To the land-holding aristocrats of East Prussia, monarchy is a religion; to the Socialists, monarchy is an appendix. To the Junker, who believes that God created him to boss Prussia, the electoral system under which he elected 152 members to the Prus-

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sian Parliament with 356,000 votes, while the Social Democrats elected 7 members with 601,000 votes, is wholly satisfactory. To the Socialist or Radical, it is the abomination of desolation. In Berlin it is generally understood that the Chancellor has promised his Socialist supporters to submit a bill for the reform of the Prussian electoral system as soon as the military situation permits him to risk a rumpus at home. And for this promise the Junkers hate him with considerable fervor.

The broadest international question which divides the supporters of the Chancellor and the supporters of von Tirpitz is: What territorial gains should Germany strive to make in this war? Both conservative and liberal Germany expect to make territorial gains. But the supporters of the Chancellor still see in the war the same conflict which existed before England came in. To them, this is essentially a struggle between Russia and the Austro-Hungarian-German bloc for predominance in the Balkans and Asia Minor. Their hope is to establish a confederation of Central Europe stretching from Hamburg to Bagdad. As they see it, the war is deciding, chiefly, how wide shall be the boundaries of Central Europe. They are almost ready to give up northern France and the whole of Belgium. They are ready to pay Belgium an indemnity of two billion marks, if Belgium will pretend that it is part of the purchase price of a section of Belgian Congo. Their eyes are on the East. They hope to annex the Courland, and to create an independent Poland from Russia's Polish territories, which they expect to take into the German Zollverein. But the most vital piece of territory to them is northeastern Serbia, which they call "The dry Suez Canal." For across it, by way of Belgrade and Nish, runs the railway from Buda-Pest to Constantinople, control of which they must have if the Hamburg to Bagdad confederation is to become a reality.

Furthermore, though their faith has been weakened during the past three months, most of the supporters of the Chancellor still hope for a peace by way of London and for a rapprochement with England, France and the United States during the decade after the war. They hope to come to an agreement with England in regard to the unhindered passage of merchantmen in time of war. They hope to revive that supreme tragi-comedy of diplomatic history: the treaty in regard to Asia Minor and the Bagdad Railroad, which Sir Edward Grey and Prince Lichnowsky initialled just fifty days before England declared war on Germany. Their greatest fear is that an entente between England, France and the United States will exclude Germany, and will force her into the opposing camp by an alliance with Russia and Japan.

To the supporters of von Tirpitz, the war essentially is a struggle between England and Germany for control of the sea. They wish to purchase peace with Russia at any price, even at the cost of abandoning their ally Turkey, and to fight on until France and England are crushed. They believe that Germany should annex every foot of French and Belgian territory she can occupy: French territory so that France can never again offer serious resistance; Belgian territory so that she may have a springboard from which to dive at England. Von Tirpitz's notorious postal card puts matters thus: "We must hold the coast of Belgium as a base from which to operate against our Anglo-American enemies."

The supporters of von Tirpitz see in England their one implacable enemy; and during the decade after the war they hope to form an international plunderbund with Russia and Japan.

The German liberals look to the West for peace and alliances, to the East for territorial gains; the conservatives look to the East for peace and alliances, to the West for territorial gains. Since war is but the continuation of politics, because of these divergent political views the conservatives and liberals differ also on every question of grand strategy. The Chancellor's policy calls for an offensive on the east front and a defensive on the west front. The Tirpitz plan demands a defensive on the east and a crushing attack on France. With the appointment of Hindenburg as Chief of the General Staff, the military strategy coincides with the political policy of the Chancellor for the first time since the war began. Falkenhayn was a supporter of von Tirpitz, and is said to have desired the Chancellorship for himself. Following the Tirpitz political idea, he launched three great attacks on France, each one of which was intended to crush the Republic. His failure may be written in three words: Ypres, Soissons, Verdun.

Hindenburg, according to the best informed people in Berlin, intends to allow his lines on the Somme to be driven back slowly while he employs his reserves against Rumania and Russia. He hopes to burn out Rumania before the autumn rains make the ground impassable. When winter has hardened the earth again, he hopes to press on to Odessa and possibly to Kiev. The German liberals hope that if their armies are in Odessa and Kiev they will be able to make peace by way of London; the conservatives, expecting the same conditions to prevail, hope for peace by way of Petrograd.

Should the advance against Russia fail, or should the Allies refuse to gather about a table in spite of a successful advance, there is great likelihood

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that Germany will turn again to the West for a decision, and will seek it with her submarines.

To sink without warning? Or not to sink without warning? That is the question over which worse and better Germany disagree most bitterly. The Chancellor believes that no damage which the submarines might be able to do England by sinking without warning could compensate Germany for the addition to the ranks of her opponents of the United States, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and possibly Spain, Brazil and Argentina. Von Tirpitz, confident that he could keep from 150 to 200 submarines constantly in the waters to the west of England, believes that he could starve England into submission in a few months, and makes light of the military aid which the United States might bring the Allies.

The mutual detestation of the German conservatives and liberals is kept within bounds by the feeling "if we don't hang together, we'll all hang separately"; and by the censor, who suppresses in the same week Theodor Wolff of the *Tageblatt* for talking like the Chancellor, and Count von Reventlow of the *Tageszeitung* for talking like Tirpitz. But, in spite of the censor, the advocates of sinking without warning manage to conduct a vicious and effective campaign against the Chancellor by means of anonymous pamphlets.

To a nation like our own which loves the beaux yeux of France, there is temptation to remark that to choose between worse and better Germany is "poor picking between rotten apples." And it is true that, except for the Socialist minority, every human being in Germany lives by the same "Deutschland ueber Alles" philosophy. It is true that even liberal Germany would like to keep some sort of an economic hand on Belgium. It is true that liberal Germany is not prepared to purchase the friendship of France and England by exchanging Metz and the French-speaking part of Lorraine for French Congo and the right to buy Belgian Congo. It is true that lasting peace means to liberal Germany not an international conciliatory body with a sanction behind it, but strong frontiers, a large army and navy, and good alliances. It is true that better Germany, which possesses an enormous national conscience, possesses no international conscience whatever. Paradoxically enough, Germany to-day is the most moral state in the world in her internal affairs and the most immoral state in the world in her external affairs. And it is not likely that her morality will soon extend beyond her borders. For both her morality and her immorality are by-products of her "Deutschland ueber Alles" philosophy, and they lie as deep in her heart as does that creed.

Why, then, should the United States bother about distinctions between Germans and Germans? Why should we strive to strengthen Bethmann and to weaken Tirpitz? Because we can not continue to enjoy our lucrative neutrality unless Bethmann remains Chancellor. The day conservative Germany overcomes liberal Germany, sinking without warning will be recommenced and we shall be drawn into the war. Because the greatest danger which could threaten the United States would be the combination of Germany, Russia and Japan for which a conservative government of Germany would labor. Because Germany can be made a liberal state only by her own liberals. No artificial liberalism imposed by the Allies on a defeated Germany would last a month after the withdrawal of the Allies' armies. Because the supporters of von Bethmann-Hollweg, if not the sons, are at least the step-sons of light.

WILLIAM C. BULLITT.

The Freedom of the Seas

FROM the longitude of London we watch as in a glass darkly the ominous struggle between the German Chancellor and the Junkers. The immediate issue seems to turn on the question how often his aerial monsters are to visit our shores by night. It may seem a trivial subject of contention in the midst of a terrific war, if one thinks only of the failure of the Zeppelins to inflict any appreciable military damage upon us. From the standpoint of the psychology and policy of war, however, it deserves the importance which it seems to possess for the German mind. Nothing in this war, unless it be the shelling of Scarborough and the sinking of the Lusitania, has affected our national temper so deeply. It certainly does not intimidate us. In the few districts which have suffered severely the sick and the aged are nervous: mothers are anxious and children sleepless during the dark still nights when the fairy play of our countless searchlights warns us to expect a raid. But even in these few districts the young and the healthy of both sexes watch the "sport" with fierce enjoyment, and if in our vast population there is one in a thousand whose nerves are shaken, the other nine hundred and ninety-nine are only angry. It is the endless series of these outrages, from the burning of Louvain to the shooting of Captain Fryatt that has begotten in us the temper expressed in Mr. Lloyd George's recent interview, the temper of the dog fight and the prize-ring. To be frank, the Zeppelins do intimidate: they silence our peace party and our moderates.

It is conceivable that some inkling of this fact has reached the Chancellor's mind. Perhaps he

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remembers wistfully the two years of intimate Anglo-German friendship before the war, which broke out only because that movement of conciliation had not yet included the Allies on either side. Perhaps he recalls Lord Grey's parting words to Count Lichnowsky, that he could help Germany more by coming into the war than by standing aloof. He may reflect that our traditional habit of thinking in terms of the balance of power may one day tell in Germany's favor, as hitherto it has told against her. He is thinking of the future as the savages of the military party are not, and in one clear sentence he has told the world that with Mr. Wilson, Lord Grey and M. Briand he too is looking forward to some international organization to preserve peace, while the wild men on both sides envisage only an eternity of war. If this was his line of thought, he did well to think of curbing the Zeppelins, as he did well to check the submarine war. Neither of these devilries will stop, however. Statesmen must compromise, and on neither side will even those who see the reasonable future clearly, dare to steer straight by its star. I have heard an able American, who has moved continually between both camps, say that but for the killing of non-combatants by one side and the attempt to starve them by the other, the war would have ended long ago. If that is an exaggeration, it tells a truth.

Meanwhile a German professor has produced a theoretical defense of the Zeppelin performances which leads us straight to the center of our after-war problems. It is, he argued, legitimate to slaughter "non-combatants," because in modern warfare there are no non-combatants. That is indisputably true, though it is the kind of logic which decent minds refuse to follow to its last conclusions. Even our women are making shells and cartridges, or else, with the conscious sense that they are doing "war work," they are filling the places of men at the front. Our entire production, if it is not directly feeding the army, is sustaining the credit of our war-chest, and the cotton goods that we send to South America are paid for in munitions from the North. We all realize that every modern war must be a war of nations, and that industrial efficiency must tell in it as fatally as military efficiency. The old thesis of the thinkers who believed that war could be limited and chained is hopelessly obsolete. It is no longer reasonable to confine the effects of military operations to the armed forces of the enemy. The whole nation constitutes his forces.

The logic of Count Zeppelin's advocate is in essentials the logic of our own blockade of foodstuffs, and of the embargo on German trade. Like most English progressives I used before the war to accept the doctrine of the Manchester school, that trade is a relationship between "private merchants" which ought to be exempt from the operations of war. It followed that capture at sea was an archaic survival, ripe for abolition, and we thought with Cobden that blockades should be confined to the reduction of fortified bases already besieged by land. It is hard to-day, even for Englishmen who are habitually critical of any abuse of force, to think themselves back into these conceptions. The German professor said that there are no "non-combatants." To us it seems that there are no "private merchants." We have come to think of trade as a national activity, to be regulated and directed by the state. We have even nationalized the investment of capital abroad, to the extent of guaranteeing the profits of the bank which is going to "penetrate" Italy. Of private trade we retain nothing but the private profit. It is clear to us now that this Manchester doctrine of the inviolability of trade in war was a deduction from individualistic premises which we long ago discarded. The same school held that trade should be free from all interference by the state. With that general assumption, the particular application also falls. On the broad grounds of humanity there is an overwhelming case for shielding the civilian from sudden death by torpedo or aerial bomb, and there is as strong a case for excepting food from the rigors of a blockade. But the experience of this war has sunk so deeply into the national mind, that I question gravely whether we shall ever consider the abolition of the embargo on trade, when laws of warfare are revised. Our imagination would refuse to picture the seas in wartime, over which enemy trade—barring contraband—went hither and thither freely in enemy vessels or even in neutral vessels, in front of the silent guns of our fleet. We should see in that suggestion merely a proposal to emasculate sea-power.

This confession has taxed the patience of the American reader, and I hear, with entire assent, the comment that navalism is merely militarism which has suffered a sea-change. Do we take no account, then, of neutral rights? There is no stopping an enemy's trade without injuring the innocent neutral, and an effective embargo involves such violations of sovereignty as the "rationing" of the smaller neutrals. We must carry our destructive, iconoclastic thinking a step further. We have abolished the "non-combatant." We have abolished the "private merchant." We must abolish the neutral too. That is the whole meaning of Mr. Wilson's neo-Stoic doctrine, that nothing can happen in the world which is alien to any people's interests. When there has been outrage

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and aggression, neutrality is a dereliction of duty. It may be impossible—I think it is—to apply that doctrine literally to-day, in a war that involved great and small by a series of automatic reactions, a product and expression of the previous international chaos. But for the future, when the world has built up its international organization, it is clear that there can be no neutrals. It may not be necessary—if wars must be fought, with the assent of a League of Nations, to repress aggression—that every civilized state should take its share as an active belligerent. But if we can create this League, and the League is at grips with a defiant and aggressive Power which has refused the processes of conciliation, it certainly follows that no civilized state which adheres to the League can stand aloof and claim the privileges of a neutral. One hopes, indeed, that the embargo may go far to render actual warfare obsolete, though it could rarely be enforced without the sanction of armed force in readiness. "You have abolished non-combatants and private merchants and neutrals," I hear the reader exclaim, "What will you abolish next?" We shall abolish war.

"This is exactly," the critical reader replies, "what might have been expected from British hypocrisy. You erect yourselves into the self-appointed defenders of civilization, in order that you may claim for yourselves an exercise of power which is a menace to any civilized society of nations." We must guard against that misinterpretation. Sea-power, available to the fullest limit consistent with humanity, will be an indispensable arm for any league of nations. But there must be no risk that it will be used at the unchecked discretion of any single Power. If it is reserved for an annihilating use in war, it certainly must not be abused in peace to hamper the legitimate colonial expansion of other peoples, or to back a monopoly in trade. If we mean to maintain—as I do not doubt we do—our relative supremacy at sea, we must clear our colonial and economic policy of any objections on these scores. But also there must be no loophole left which would permit the use of the tremendous engine of the embargo for the self-regarding purposes of a single Power. The logic of the modern evolution of war and internationalism leads straight to this conclusion—that the progressives who used to dream, with Franklin and Paine and Cobden, of disarming and limiting sea-power, should strive instead to harness it to the chariot of international order. The embargo, in that, should be retained as the inevitable defense of civilization, but on the understanding that it may be used only in wars sanctioned by the League, and only by the express order of the League. Theoretically there ought to be no other wars, and no loyal member of the League, if it can be created, will contemplate other wars. None the less they may come. Both parties to a dispute may refuse the processes of conciliation, or reject its awards. In that case both are offenders and technically aggressors, and the League as such is disinterested in their private, egoistic strife. Against both of them, in the interests of neutrals—for in this case neutrality is a duty—civilization ought to maintain the stiffest reading of neutral rights, regarding their struggle as a nuisance and a negation of order. It would recognize no blockades or war zones or embargoes imposed by these broilers in such a war, and would use its forces, if need be, to maintain "the freedom of the seas."

If this conception can be developed, it would lead us to a revision of the law of war at sea in three chapters, of which the first would impose rules of humanity applicable in all wars, the second prescribe rules to secure the immunity of innocent trade in private and unauthorized wars, and the third define the conditions for the enforcement of a formal embargo by the whole league of law-abiding states. By this distinction (it is as yet only an individual suggestion) if the League can be founded, the traditional American principle of the inviolability of neutral trade in war may be reconciled with the British objection to the emasculation of sea-power. But we are far as yet from the consideration of these problems. The familiar sound of a Zeppelin's propeller overhead interrupted me midway in this article. I watched the descent of the glowing monster, and thousands of normally kind men and women cheered and sang while its crew was burned alive in mid-air. We shall move slowly into the era of law.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

London, October.

CORRESPONDENCE

Jumping to Conclusions

SIR: I have read with interest your article in your last issue, wherein you ask in substance for the reëlection of Mr. Wilson on the general proposition that during the next few years there are bound to come great occasions calling for very sudden decisions, and that Mr. Wilson has a more nimble mind and is more prompt to jump to conclusions than his opponent. I earnestly hope that Mr. Hughes will indeed, as President, show a less pronounced ability to act first and then study the evidence afterward to see whether his action has not been disastrous or foolish. For example:

1. Almost immediately after his inauguration Mr. Wilson committed himself to a Mexican policy which I have heard a person close to his administration describe very recently as "heedless and headstrong" and not founded on any real knowledge of the Mexican problem. This

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policy is a millstone around the necks of the Democratic managers to-day, as in their confidential moments divers will tell you.

2. Mr. Wilson jumped to the conclusion that the army and navy were all right, and publicly derided the men who told him otherwise. He has been compelled to eat his words before the entire country.

3. Mr. Wilson immediately after the outrage of Belgium ordered his countrymen to remain "neutral in thought." No mandate of an American President has ever gone so generally and so righteously unheeded.

4. Mr. Wilson immediately after the Lusitania tragedy announced himself as the man "too proud to fight." He has made many weary and awkward efforts to explain away the force of that most disastrous utterance, which is to-day doing him more harm than all the invectives of his most furious critics.

5. Mr. Wilson capitulated to the demands of an importunate labor body without even the fair pretense of examining whether their demands were just or outrageous. To-day he is standing desperately on the defensive in all his efforts to convince the business men of the country and a very large part of the labor element that he is not their hidden adversary but their sincere friend.

These are the masterpieces of that nimble genius which THE NEW REPUBLIC would fain see continued in power. If Mr. Wilson should be reëlected the guardian angel that protects "children, drunkards and the people of the United States" may well weary at last of the third part of his duty.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Foreign Policy the Issue

SIR: As a reader of your excellent paper and a supporter of the candidacy of Mr. Hughes, I really must object to Mr. Usher's statement of "The Case For Hughes." Aside from the remarkable proposition that the President does not control his own administration, a proposition which even Bryce and the gentleman with the Russian name could not make anybody believe, if they would, and aside from the very unfortunate taste of the personal attack on Mr. Wilson, the article, like Mr. Lippmann's on "The Case for Wilson," misses the real issue.

It is Mr. Roosevelt who sees true in this campaign. As I see the argument, it has resolved itself to this: On Mr. Wilson's side, his whole record is set forth, coupled even with that of the Democratic party since its origin, as the "issue." On the whole of the record, with emphasis on the domestic policy, we are to judge. Mr. Wilson's whole administration, taken all in all, is to be the deciding fact for the voter. On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt makes the great prime issue not the whole record *in toto,* but one part of it, the central part. This, he thinks, is the foreign policy. He feels very deeply that this foreign policy is, at just this time, of such tremendous consequence as altogether to overwhelm the other parts of the general policy of the administration. The "issue" is just one of approving or utterly disapproving the present foreign policy, by passing a vote of confidence, or a vote of censure, putting in power the opposition. Who is leader of the opposition, or "what he would do," is not germane, provided he is himself guiltless, and represents the censure.

The question, then, becomes one of approving or disapproving Mr. Wilson's foreign policy. For myself, I very heartily join in Mr. Roosevelt's disapproval, shared, apparently, by Mr. Lippmann. So I shall vote to throw out the "government," and put in the "opposition," on this one particular question, and I shall neglect every other consideration whatever, such as the general character, in history or in the pursuit of the two parties, or Mr. Wilson's attitude toward "business," or the tariff, or anything else except just foreign policy. As to Mr. Hughes, his campaign is colorless, so far as he himself is concerned; but his past record in public life is vigorous and positive, and as Mr. Taft says, his acts have carried out his words. So he may be accepted to represent the censure on the government. For once we must approximate the procedure at an English general election, sustaining or disapproving the administration on one particular issue. To "defeat Wilson" is thus indeed the real issue.

ROGER LAFFARTY.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Denies the Experiment

SIR: As an independent voter, I have been interested by your defense of Mr. Wilson's course in the recent eight-hour work and wages controversy. Particularly adroit is your late position, that, in view of the 600,000 railway stockholders as against 400,000 members of the Brotherhoods, Mr. Wilson's act in recommending the eight-hour law "was one not of cowardice but of reckless daring." It occurs to me, however, that that situation hardly rebuts the accusation that Mr. Wilson was thinking of votes. That his course has had the effect of turning in his favor many thousands of labor votes, besides those of the Brotherhoods, is commonsense. Two concrete results are, however, noticeable: the appeal by Samuel Gompers to all labor to vote for Wilson because of the latter's aid to labor even though to but one part thereof; and, the hostile attitude of the several audiences Mr. Hughes has addressed, composed of workmen receiving no legislative benefit from Mr. Wilson's conduct. The conclusion is inescapable, I think, that although the President may have alienated several hundred thousand votes of the railway stockholders, he has won the several million votes of the laboring men of the country.

The most sagacious argument, however, which you have outlined, refers to the value of Mr. Wilson's legislation—may I call it that—as an empirical demonstration; that is, that the only way to discover whether the Adamson law is right or wrong is by a six-months trial. If Mr. Wilson had been actuated by your breadth of mind, I could follow him, but he spoils your otherwise able argument by himself reaching the very conclusion which you say needs six months to reach. He told an audience at Shadow Lawn that the reason the Adamson law was enacted was because it was "right." As nearly as I can make out, then, the investigative committee provided for, was to be a sop to the railways. If, as Mr. Wilson says, the Adamson law is right, what possible reason is there for investigating its results? We are driven to the conclusion that either Mr. Wilson is not as confident in his own mind as he is in public of the justice of the Adamson law, or else the investigative committee's report will have no effect one way or the other on its future. We have no guaranty from Mr. Wilson that, if continued in office, he will see to the repeal of the law if the committee finds it unjust to the railroads. Your presumption that the law would be repealed under such circumstances does not seem warranted.

PHILIP LOWRY.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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Books and Things

NEITHER from his rather unusual name, which is Mullinub, nor from his good average face, which is red and round and optimistic, would you be likely to guess his tastes, which are all for cubism in plastic art, and in verse for Mallarmé and Edward Lear.

So you will readily understand that I, who have long known his likings, was surprised when he greeted me the other day with these words: "This campaign that Hughes is making is rather disappointing." Shielding my eyes from the pictures which ruin his walls I determined to improve the occasion. In a man like Mullinub serious interests should be encouraged.

"You say well," I began. "There has been no disappointment like Mr. Hughes's campaign in my time. The hope which I took with me to his notification meeting died there before the evening was over. It did not want to die. Fed on rumors and hearsay for dessert, with faith and my desires as its staple food, it had grown marvellously throughout its short life. It was conceived when Mr. Hughes's success at Chicago began to look certain, it was born on the day of his nomination, it died before he had finished his first speech. For I had hoped that Mr. Hughes, supplied by God or nature with a stronger brain than any other Republican possibility except Mr. Root, would tell me quite plainly what ought to have been the conduct of the United States since the outbreak of the war, would outline in large firm strokes an American policy, would separate the risks avoided by such a policy from those other risks which he would be willing to face and for which it was our business to prepare.

"Yes, I acknowledge that I had such a hope. I did imagine once upon a time that Mr. Hughes was a stilled fountain of pure wisdom, eager for a chance to play. Like many hundred thousand Americans I had been perplexed in the extreme by the war. I longed for a leader who could see our American goal, our way to it, and the difficulties and dangers on our way. Well, Mr. Hughes has been doing his best to convince us all that such a picture had not the merit of likeness. It was the work of a painter who had dipped his brush in his wishes. Call no man wise until he has broken silence."

Mullinub's face, while I was speaking my piece, changed from surprise, which it expresses easily, to disappointment, which it expresses with effort and in spite of obstacles.

"I don't understand what you're driving at," he said. "What do you expect from a campaign, anyway?"

"As a citizen," I answered with dignity, "I either want a campaign to result in the doing of certain things or else I want it to teach me what things I want done."

"Oh," said Mullinub. "I get you. So you are still at that stage of development? Perhaps I was just as bad before I grew up. Nowadays I am interested in campaigning as a fine art. Asbolute music, absolute painting, absolute poetry, absolute campaigning—these are the things I go in for. In each of these arts I seek the master who can reduce the irrelevant and impertinent interest, the illustrative, representative, informing, practical element, to a minimum. The greatest master would abolish it altogether.

"It was years ago that I had my first glimpse of an ideal toward which many candidates strove but which no candidate ever quite attained. It was then that I conceived my white and pure and stainless ideal, then that I first imagined a candidate who would take the stump and stay on it without saying anything about any subject upon which his opinion could conceivably be an occasion of curiosity to any son or daughter of woman.

"Mr. McKinley in his first campaign might have reached this ideal. I still believe he was capable, if only he had had the right trainers and backers, of penetrating deep into the autumn months of 1896 without uttering the word gold—of avoiding this word for as many weeks as Mr. Hughes succeeded in avoiding the word Lusitania. But it was not to be. The gods couldn't see it. Mr. McKinley's trainers and backers would not let him be silent. He passed into the White House with one great possibility of his nature unfulfilled.

"But at Carnegie Hall, where I went sadly, reluctantly, in obedience to major force, I was thrilled by Mr. Hughes's speech. Perhaps I had found my absolute campaigner after all these years of waiting. With trembling hands I took out my watch and timed the speaker. Half an hour of Mexico, untainted by any attempt at a clear statement of what he would have done if he had been President. Glorious! Ten minutes about the European war, and never a ray of light. Superb! My heart beat wildly. Perhaps here, before my eyes, where they had never expected to find him, was a candidate who could go through a campaign without saying anything at all!

"It seemed too good to be true and it was too good to be quite true. At the very end of the evening came his fall. He spoke of woman suffrage in words which though not unforgivably clear could nevertheless mean only one thing. Too bad, too bad. And he might so easily have said even upon this subject something that would not have damaged his record for noncommitalness. He might have said, preserving the same attitude toward woman suffrage that he has taken and kept toward so many other questions, that women were entitled both to all their existing legal rights and also to such other rights as might hereafter be given them by either state or federal action.

"In what Mr. Hughes has said about the tariff he has been equally untrue to his highest or most noncommittal self. And he could so easily have been true. He had only to say that our tariff laws ought to be framed with wisdom and enforced with firmness, to repeat this over and over, and to say no more about it.

"Still, although he has not attained my ideal, his silence upon the important questions of the campaign has been gratifying, very gratifying. Perhaps he comes as near to being the ideal campaigner, the candidate who says exactly nothing, as imperfect man can come in this imperfect world. I do not count, as things which spoil the technique of silence, what Mr. Hughes has said about President Wilson's appointments to the civil and diplomatic service. While the European war is on, while so many of my inartistic and practical fellow-countrymen are both dissatisfied with our national conduct and unable to say what it ought to have been, discussion of the Durand case, like discussion of the Brown, Jones and Robinson cases, is really a form of silence."

"Then why are you disappointed?" I asked. "He has had least to say about the most important subjects."

"Because of his slip about the Lusitania. He ought not to have been so definite. He spoke against his will, I admit, and after a wonderful delay, beautifully sustained. But I hope he won't do it again. Somebody in the crowd that heard him is said to have shouted 'you said something!' These words must have made him realize, in bitterness, that he had fallen short of his ideal."

P. L.

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Impressions

Chicago Poems, by Carl Sandburg. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.

WE seem to be getting new popular notions as to rhythm. It is not so very long since Ruskin raged about Wagner pretty much as he raged about Whistler. It was the correct philistine performance to resist the rhythm of Wagner and set him down as noise. People have already forgotten this senseless conservatism. The conceptions of dance rhythm and verse rhythm have similarly, recently, emancipated themselves. For ages the dancing "master" had complete charge of the thing called choreography, and he cared for nothing but the most regular rhythms. In poetry it was practically the same. "Hey diddle-diddle, the cat and the fiddle, the cow jumped over the moon"—the sublimations of this rhythm were enjoyed as "real" music, especially when achieved by the great Algernon Charles, and fun was made of Walt Whitman. It was not felt then so much as now that whatever the beauty of Swinburne's rhythms Whitman's had their own beauty, to which every ear could become attuned. The wonder now is that everyone did not perceive right off that the modern flexibility in verbal rhythm was no more extraordinary than the flexibility in the rhythm of dancer or sculptor or painter or musician.

The free rhythms of Mr. Carl Sandburg are a fine achievement in poetry. No one who reads "Chicago Poems" with rhythm particularly in mind can fail to recognize how much beauty he attains in this regard. But the more arresting aspect of Mr. Sandburg's achievement is, for myself, the so-called imagistic aspect; the aspect, that is to say, which the subject-matter itself reveals. The rhythm, one may insist, is part of the imagism—one may resent having the so-called subject-matter considered separately. Rhythm, however, is far from the dominant novelty in Carl Sandburg, and it is convenient to assume that his rhythms are delectable to many who yet do not admit the beauty or originality of his way of approaching the world.

The originality of the imagist approach can scarcely be long disputed. Never before has there been such firm seizure of the object to be presented. Never before has the impression of the moment been so poignantly dramatized. Make a contrast, for example, between the Anacreon verse on an old man and the Sandburg verse on a baby. One is a brief description, the other a brief characterization. The comparison is not on all fours but at least it is suggestive of just that quality in the modern poet which is making imagism what it is. Take the old man first:

"Gray are my temples long since and snowy my hair:
Gracious youth is departed; old are my teeth,
Brief is the space of sweet life that is left to me now."

Mr. Sandburg's verse runs this way:

"The child's wonder
At the old moon
Comes back nightly.
She points her finger
To the far, silent, yellow thing
Shining through the branches
Filtering on the leaves a golden sand,
Crying with her little tongue, 'See the moon!'
And in her bed fading to sleep
With babblings of the moon on her little mouth."

Each of these poems is an epigram and each characterizes a special period of life, but the antique epigram is generalized still-life, the modern is particularized life in motion. Contrast in turn the Greek light-house speaking, and the fire in the bowels of the earth. Says the light-house:

"No longer dreading the rayless night-mist, sail toward me confidently, O seafarers; for all wanderers I light my far-shining torch, memorial of the labors of the Asclepiadae."

Mr. Sandburg gives his conception this unity and emphasis:

KIN

"Brother, I am fire
Surging under the ocean floor.
I shall never meet you, brother—
Not for years, anyhow;
Maybe thousands of years, brother.
Then I will warm you,
Hold you close, wrap you in circles,
Use you and change you—
Maybe thousands of years, brother."

The amazing difference, as it strikes me, is the skill of the modern in concentrating attention. The presenting of a figure, a picture, an image, is, as quotation will show, a frequent consequence of the imagist purpose. But Mr. Sandburg illustrates above all the intensity, the momentousness, that is gained by declining to refer each object to some remoter cause, by tending to treat each object as self-contained, purposive in its own measure, dynamic. "I am the Great White Way of the city." "In western fields of corn and northern timber lands, they talk about me, a saloon with a soul." "I am the crumbler: to-morrow." "They offer you many things, I a few." "I am the nigger, Singer of songs." "Here is a tall bold slugger set vivid against the little soft cities." "I am a copper wire slung in the air." This is not a trick. It is simply a pushing of the imagination to the center of the will. And even where there is no such unity as the will provides another kind of composure is secured, a visual composure. There is none of the laxity that comes from splitting attention several ways. Consider these envisagements of a commonplace world:

FOG

"The fog comes
on *little* cat feet.

It sits looking
over harbor and city
on silent haunches
and then moves on."

NOCTURNE IN A DESERTED BRICKYARD

"Stuff of the moon
Runs on the lapping sand
Out to the longest shadows.
Under the curving willows,
And round the creep of the wave line,
Fluxions of yellow and dusk on the waters
Make a wide dreaming pansy of an old pond in the night."

WINDOW

"Night from a railroad car window
Is a great, dark, soft thing
Broken across with slashes of light."

At first these poems may appear too innocent of self-interpretation to mean anything, too impressionistic to

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compel the name of beauty—to give that completion which has no shadow and knows no end beyond itself. But such exquisite realization of the scenes that gave Mr. Sandburg the mood of beauty is in itself a creation of the beautiful. Mr. Sandburg has such art in representing these scenes and the actors in them that doubt as to his capture of beauty could only occur to a person filled with a wrong expectation. If expectation is unfulfilled, indeed, it can almost certainly be deemed wrong, for these imagist verses are as good as any of their kind.

But this is not to say that all of Mr. Sandburg's poems are inspired. I am not much impressed by his vision of Chicago. This is not because Chicago fails of poetry. In some ways Chicago is hideous. It is noisy and harsh as a construction camp, chaotic as a collision, raw as a wound. It is fringed by a dirty rim of railroad track. It is gathered up into a center for the apparent purpose of being suffocated with an iron "loop." Even inside its girdle the streets are narrow and savagely paved and the alleys obscene. Outside the loop the city sprawls for miles and miles, desolate in stretches half-occupied, congested in manufacturing districts and baleful slums. Beneath a tarnished sky it fumes on its busy way, bleak in winter, sweltering in summer, without graciousness, dignity, pride. But for all this ugliness there is something about Chicago not like the imbruted employer of children and leech of factory girls and general blusterer and roustabout that Mr. Sandburg concocts for us. Mr. Sandburg is quite right that children work, "broken and smothered, for bread and wages," but Chicago is not legitimately "haunted with shadows of hunger-hands." No more is it a laughing giant. It is a work-shop but largely a work-shop for business enterprise, a wasteful, inundated, scrambling, shoddy, manufacturing city, a city irradiated to a marvelous degree by hope, by faith, by charity, careless, generous, inefficient, as well as coarse, husky, cunning, strong.

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Malicious Mischief

Benighted Mexico, by Randolph Wellford Smith. New York: John Lane Co. $1.50.

ACCORDING to the publisher's statement this book is the work of a trained author and journalist. The publisher must be in error. A trained author does not make "effete" a virtue in a civilization; he does not suppose that *Qui bono* is Latin; he does not write about kaleidoscopic valleys, or describe the Mexican constitution as a "*bas relief* or *replica* of Washington's wonder scheme of government." He does not charge even the Germans with reeking with gold, or does he think of Mexico as "rampant in riotous picturesqueness and prosperity." A trained journalist would know that malaria isn't caused by miasma, or typhoid by embalmed beef, or insanity by a night's sleep on the floor of an armory. He would know that French 75's are not used to batter down fortresses and that Corot and Messonier (sic) are not Old Masters. He would surmise that if twenty per cent of the population of Mexico is pure Spanish, there must be something wrong with his statement that the Spanish colonists didn't bring their women with them. He would hesitate in asserting that Wall Street would have howled at the thought of intervention, and that the kind of hands stretching toward Mexico from the Christian world are "Christian" hands.

The publisher also avers that the author is a "deep student of government, political economics and administrative justice." Again the publisher is in error. Mr. Smith is so innocent of knowledge of government as to suppose that the American Constitution was wholly the work of Washington (who was indeed present at the Convention) and of Jefferson (who fortunately was on the other side of the Atlantic). As to his knowledge of "political economics," his occasional and irrelevant excursions into this field merely betray the fact that he imagines economics to be the art of saving money. His competence in "administrative justice" we have to take on the publisher's faith, since there is nothing in the book that falls under this head.

The book is written "from an absolutely impartial viewpoint," the publisher further assures us. Impartial? The author calls Carranza brigand; vacillating, obstinate, impossible weakling and egotist; roysterer; troubadour and agnostic; tyrant; traducer of women; coxcomb; arch hypocrite; dyed-in-the-wool villain; traitor; *poseur;* trickster; "simple type of a simple class of peon farmer." He adduces no evidence in support of any of these characterizations. The only point at which he gets near to Carranza, even at second hand, is in the narrative of Iturbide. Here, however, Carranza appears as justifiably suspicious of any one compromised in the Huerta government, but capable of just dealing with a brave and honest enemy. The author does indeed attempt by more or less knavish devices to implicate Carranza in the crime of violating nuns. An army officer (existence vouched for by the author) "knows of an entire nunnery that was turned over to the Carranzistas for the foulest purposes of infamy. A general high in command and an intimate of Carranza gave the order." Later this episode is assigned to "Carranza and his aids."

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The publisher describes his book as a "first-hand, analytical study . . . told with a verity that can not be questioned." How lucky it is that a publisher has no soul to lose! Perhaps the author has at some time been in Mexico. There is, however, no internal evidence that any of the "data" given were gathered in Mexico. And instead of an analytical study, what we have is an absurd mass of assertion and obiter dicta, the competence and relevance of which may be illustrated by the statement that Senator Lodge is our last vestige of statesmanship.

Why waste good space on the obvious quackeries and knaveries of a book like this? Because the Mexican problem is one on which we need light, not dust in our eyes. The publisher thinks Mr. Smith's work "may make history" (what a pity that a publisher has no soul to lose!). Well, it may. There are hundreds of thousands of Americans eager to believe all evil of Carranza and the revolution. Imperialism is not yet extinct among us. The treatment of the Catholic Church by the Carranzistas is a sore point with multitudes who are free from imperialistic yearnings. The author plays fast and loose with tales of outrage upon nuns and execution of priests. He is not a Catholic, but he is obviously writing for Catholics when he produces as if it were attested truth, a lurid yarn about an act of "unique infamy and horror" that "will stand out in all annals." It has to do with the manner in which the people of Merida, Yucatan, are alleged to have celebrated President Wilson's recognition of Carranza. A mob of five hundred miscreants, led by "a hunchback, the husband of the most notorious procuress in Mexico City," decided to sack the Cathedral. "'Let us take the image of Christ and hold Him as a hostage for Carranza,' yelled one of the mob in Spanish." These outrages, "it is said, and not contradicted," had the approval of Carranza.

There are also multitudes of Americans who incline to the suspicion that the Germans are at the bottom of our Mexican troubles. This suspicion the author utilizes to the best of his ability. Carranza, he asserts over and over, is plentifully supplied with German gold. The schools and institutions of Mexico are being shamelessly Germanized, whatever that may mean. The German consul at Parral, "it is said," counselled the attack on our troops. By innuendo, Mr. Smith attempts to convey the belief that the Germans composed Carranza's "insolent" note to President Wilson. And he does his best to revive the myth that in case of severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, German reservists in this country were commanded to proceed straightway to Juarez. For proof he adduces the facsimile of an order, written in home-made German, and fathered upon the German General Staff.

Finally he produces an array of ominous assertions as to plans matured by England and France to restore order in Mexico, Monroe Doctrine or no Monroe Doctrine. One reader may fail to take fire with the author's zeal for the cause of the Church in its struggle with the Mexican state. Another reader may refuse to believe that the Germans are so stupid as to attempt to set in motion forces that would be pretty certain to lead to the annexation of Mexico. But even an enlightened reader may be made to tremble for the Monroe Doctrine.

If you know anything about Mexico, or about international affairs in general, this book is not meant for you. But if your knowledge of such affairs remains in a rudimentary condition, this book is well adapted to exploit your fears and your prejudices. It may successfully darken your counsel and work mischief in your heart.

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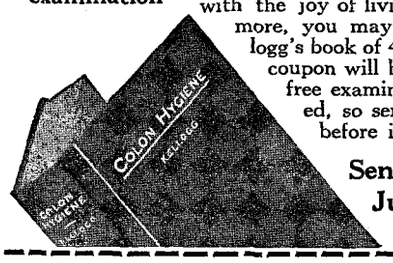

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The Battle of the Marne According to Mr. Belloc

The Elements of the Great War. The Second Phase. The Battle of the Marne, by Hilaire Belloc. New York: Hearst's International Library Co.

IN this volume Mr. Belloc has essayed one of the first detailed accounts of the Battle of the Marne. Notwithstanding the manifest difficulties due to the reserve still maintained, as to many vital details, by the various military authorities involved, Mr. Belloc has written a valuable and interesting book. He is quite as fully aware of the technical difficulties as any reviewer of his could be, and his own words disarm all criticism on that score. What he has done is to establish a solid framework within which the details lacking now may be inserted after the war by the countless military historians who are certain to follow. But Mr. Belloc's framework will probably stand.

He justly divides the Battle of the Marne into three separate engagements, in their chronological order, as follows: the fight for the Grand Couronné of Nancy, the engagements on the west wing, and the Battle of La Ferè Champenoise. With equal justice he awards the credit of the crucial blow to the attack of the French 42nd Division, under Foch. "The place," he says, "was La Ferè Champenoise. The time was between five and six in the evening on Wednesday, September 9, 1914." This is a judgment likely to stand, and all that Mr. Belloc has to say of La Ferè Champenoise is of the very greatest descriptive interest. Mr. Belloc believes that the German plan consisted of a projected envelopment of the two flanks of the French line. He believes that that plan failed, first because the German higher command maintained too large a proportion of its effectives on the east flank, particularly about Verdun and Nancy, owing to an overestimate of the French forces in that region; and secondly owing to certain tactical dispositions of the Saxon troops, under General von Hausen, who was at the critical movement opposing Foch at La Ferè Champenoise. "General von Hausen's disgrace," he says, "after the battle is one of our clearest pieces of evidence that the responsibility for their defeat at the Marne is laid by the Germans not on Kluck and the right wing, but upon the center." Again, he adds, "The confused handling of the Saxons, and a sort of general hitch in their Staff work, helped, if we may credit German reports and views, toward the final disaster."

Now Mr. Belloc accepts, in the main, the French theory of German "dislocation." The French believe, or at least pretend to believe, that Maunoury's famous concentration on Kluck's exposed flank, north of Paris, necessitated a lateral movement of the German armies westward, a movement which was bound absolutely to open transient gaps at places in the line. Such a gap, they say, was observed both in front of the British and in front of Foch. The gap in front of the British was seen earlier in the battle (naturally, owing to the character of the lateral movement) but was not taken advantage of. Foch, on the other hand, grasped his opportunity when it came, later in that fateful week, saved Maunoury from counter-envelopment, and earned undying fame. In French official accounts, little stress is laid on the contributory negligence of any part of the German command.

In the main Mr. Belloc accepts the French version, but it is very plain that he cannot help feeling that the gap in

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the German line consisted as much in a lack of headquarters' efficiency as in a mere fortuitous lack of men.

The truth is that the Germans have their own ideas regarding the Battle of the Marne. Unfortunately, German official views are not available, but the unofficial views are of the greater interest in that all German views are so little known.

The Germans agree with Mr. Belloc that their grand plan consisted of an envelopment of one or both flanks of the Allied armies, but they did not really hope to win with equal completeness at the two extremities. They attacked the French positions on the Grand Couronné of Nancy, rather hoping than expecting to break through. Of course if they had broken Castelnau's line at that time, irreparable disaster must have followed for the main French armies from the German point of view. This attack on the Grand Couronné was a clearly indicated strategical move, for even if it failed, large French forces must be held there. And to this day the Germans deny that they overestimated Castelnau, or that any mistake was made, unless it were the technical one, common to all at that time, of underestimating the defensive value of machine guns.

Secondly, they do not greatly criticize von Kluck. It is true that Kluck was surprised to find Maunoury in such force, but on the other hand it is a fact that Maunoury's units were of a tactical value inferior to the best French troops, and that Kluck's counter-enveloping movement was proceeding successfully when the German center broke. As regards the British, the Germans say that they were quite right in supposing them tired out, for they were tired out, and even Mr. Belloc admits that their offensive came too late. Actually, they were held for some time by German cavalry alone.

Now according to the Germans, Buelow did his part with the Second Army in closing the gaps, and the battle continued to progress favorably for them. There was no crisis, or any appearance of a crisis. Maunoury was being counter-enveloped, in imminent danger; and only ordinary human intelligence was needed for the successful completion of this lateral movement to the west.

But unfortunately, the Germans say, ordinary human intelligence *was* lacking. For General von Hausen, commanding the Saxon Army, was possessed of an idée fixe, an obsession which clearly deviated from the condition of sanity. This obsession consisted of an unwillingness to move troops in any direction except toward the enemy. It was that German military concept of "Always attack" carried beyond the field of reason—a real reductio ad absurdum. And it is a fact, the Germans say, that the Saxon slaughter on that day beggars description. Von Hausen simply squandered his troops in such fashion as no sane man could possibly have squandered them, aimlessly and senselessly, and thereby lost the Battle of the Marne. Hausen's fate is a secret, although a secret not wholly unknown; and whatever the exact truth of his actions during those days, the fact remains that he certainly did not conform the movements of his command, as he ought to have done, to the general westward movement of the German armies, and left the gap open through which Foch broke.

Not until the war is over can British writers like Mr. Belloc have access to German material; and without that material the true story of the Battle of the Marne—that gigantic and probably decisive battle of the Great War—cannot be written. But nevertheless the framework on which Mr. Belloc rests his case to-day appears a solid and enduring structure.

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QUITE justly has Mr. Marshall been called the successor of Anthony Trollope. All Mr. Marshall's characters are drawn full length; they are elaborately, beautifully "done." They are never, so to speak, caught off their guard. In old photographers' shops one can still see on the walls daguerreotypes for which the sitter was carefully posed—they have a certain charm and behind the mask of invariable pleasantness can be discerned much of the nature of the person portrayed, in the droop of the lips' corners, the sharp features and the individual eyes. Mr. Marshall's people are like that. But make no mistake, they are genuine characters, remembered, long after his leisurely, unexciting novels are cast aside, for their human likes and dislikes, their passions and prejudices. More flashing novelists, fond of the flowing pose and the mobile gesture—the animated, chiaroscuro picture—might learn from Mr. Marshall's dogged method of attack, very much as the iconoclastic painter learns from the academician. Yet to speak of Mr. Marshall's characters as having "passions" is really too emphatic. He has elected to describe in his books a milieu that does not produce such inconvenient and embarrassing emotions, the milieu of English country life in the transition period when old families with large estates possess barely enough to keep the estates "up" and are constantly scrimping and planning. Upstart trade families break in upon their decent poverty, and there is the long drawn-out battle between wealth and "position." "Watermeads" is exactly such a large estate, rapidly going to the dogs, and the Conway family that have owned it for generations are so poor that they have to leave out butter for the afternoon tea. Only by selling old pictures and bits of furniture is the wolf kept from the door. It is a fairly amenable wolf, however, and the Conway family—mother, father, three daughters and three sons—are not especially unhappy. When the two girls Elsie and Rose grow up into beautiful womanhood the match-making question dominates the household. Fred, too, the pride and hope of the family, is engaged to a German heiress (the story is before the war) and discovers that she is after him for his name alone only after a period of respectable suspense. In the end all are happily married; "Watermeads" is saved. A meagre enough plot, but Mr. Marshall injects an amazing amount of vitality into the sheer commonplace of the situations and, it must be confessed, the sheer commonplace of the characters. There is the book's distinction. Mr. Marshall has the gift of transmuting the commonplace into literature.

Mount Vernon, Washington's Home and The Nation's Shrine, by Paul Wilstach. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co. $2.00.

IF the effect of this admirable monograph, illustrated with such care and detail, is to destroy the romantic and conventionally heroic conception of Washington as a kind of legendary saint, it yet humanizes a figure which even under the hands of the most sympathetic of historians has been austere. Knowledge of a man's family life and ambitions is significant in the final appraisement. It is easy to see from Mr. Wilstach's book that Washington was first and last a country colonial gentleman of family,

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true to the best traditions of his day. Mount Vernon was his abiding love. His correspondence with Lund, his manager, on the state of things in the farm during the months and years he was away on public business gives some hint of the thought and affection he lavished on those fair lands. Washington had a really scientific passion for farming, as well as a sentimental one. He was constantly experimenting with crops, fertilizers and new systems of breeding. He was happiest when he was repairing and rebuilding, always with an eye to the future, yet with a quick sense of the temporary economic value of any of the five farms on the estate. His knowledge of detail was amazing. Mr. Wilstach has threshed out the mass of data and presented the old facts and the few new with a nice balance of biography and exposition. If anything, the real stature of Washington grows. Looking at the pictures of that pleasant estate and those sturdy, handsome buildings, reading of the servants and slaves, the cattle and horses and furniture, a socialist might expound his economic interpretation of history and explain why Washington was so strong an advocate of the new Constitution, undoubtedly the handiwork of the land-owning classes and moulded in their interests. But to be honest one has to look deeper. For this vivid knowledge of what Mount Vernon was like only increases our appreciation of Washington's courage and vision. When he risked "all" for the new government of the Colonies, he actually did risk something. His phrase about dedicating his "fortune" to the sacred cause was no idle one. Mr. Wilstach has not merely made a distinct and interesting contribution to our store of knowledge. Unconsciously perhaps, but still truly, he has quickened our sense of the human dignity of Washington.

With Botha's Army, by J. P. K. Robinson. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $1.25.

SO slight a stock of impressions would hardly have been accepted by a publisher from anyone on the western or eastern fronts. Mr. Robinson comes near to being like the officer, described by Graham Wallas, who went straight through the Afridi war without having even seen a dead Afridi. Although Mr. Robinson did have a few minutes of "the real thing"—and buried two friends as a result of it—the most drastic use to which his bayonet's point was put was the opening of milk tins. It is a story of sand storms, mirages of the desert, recalcitrant camels, "bully-beef" and the bits of humor that enliven even the dullest of army routines. On the whole it was a dreary, unspectacular business. Some hundred and fifty small pages of large type suffice to record the fugitive impressions and salient episodes of many months of what, after all, was a secondary campaign. There is grim irony in the fact that the real fate of these lands is being settled on fairer fields where bayonets to-day have other than domestic purposes: the secondary campaigns are fought in lands which constitute the primary issues. Perhaps the only valuable contribution Mr. Robinson's book makes lies in its unconscious revelation of the great good feeling between the officers and men. One thinks of D. H. Lawrence's short stories of Prussian corporals and shudders with disgust. But this spirit of gay camaraderie hardly justifies Mr. Robinson's volume. If Botha's campaign in German South West Africa had not been so neglected and forgotten, where would he have found a publisher? Yet sooner or later every conceivable human reaction to the war will find its way into print, and "With Botha's Army" helps to keep the record complete.

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